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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1886.

The stated meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at the customary hour and place, the chair being occupied by Dr. ELLIS.

The Secretary read his report of the last meeting.

The Librarian presented his monthly list of donors to the Library.

Mr. Samuel F. McCleary, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The PRESIDENT then said : —

Since our last meeting death has removed from us our highly honored and distinguished associate Francis Edward Parker. His name has been upon our roll for twenty-three years.

His various and engrossing responsibilities of trust and business did not consist with his attendance at our monthly meetings as often as we should have gladly welcomed him here. But few of our members exceeded him in an hearty and intelligent interest in our objects ; and he showed that interest by giving us wise counsel when we needed it, and by generous presents to our Library. In the various professional, business, and social circles, where his great capacities and his admirable qualities had secured for him an enviable degree of confidence, respect, and warm personal attachment, his decease has drawn forth the sincerest tributes for his character, and for his wisdom and fidelity in the care of great trusts. This Society can only, in the usual form of a Resolution, add its grateful tribute to the many which enshrine his memory. The Council commit the preparation of a memoir of Mr. Parker for our Proceedings to our associate Mr. Edward Bangs.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP made the following remarks : —

I am unwilling, Mr. President, that the name of Francis E. Parker should pass from our rolls without a few words from one who, though much his senior, had known him so long and valued him so highly as I have done.

Of his abilities as a lawyer, his fidelity as a trustee, his accomplishments as a scholar, his wit and his wisdom in social or in practical life, I can say nothing which has not been said already in the admirable tributes which have been paid to his memory in the public journals.

But it was my good fortune to have him as an associate and assistant for nearly thirty years in the management of some of the great charities of our city. He was with me at the original organization of the Boston Provident Association, as long ago as 1851, under the auspices of the late excellent Dr. Ephraim Peabody and the late Hon. Samuel A. Eliot; and during the whole five and twenty years of my presidency of that institution he was the chairman of its executive committee, and was unceasing in his devotion, in season and out of season, to the cause of the poor of Boston.

I may recall the fact, as a striking illustration of his disinterested liberality, that when the treasury of that institution was exhausted, during an exceptionally severe winter, many years ago, I received a confidential note from him, inclosing four or five hundred dollars, which he claimed the privilege of adding to our resources, with the injunction that it should not be known to any one but myself by whom the money was contributed. I observed his confidence sacredly as long as he lived, but I can have no compunction about betraying it now that he is gone.

Within a very few weeks past, I had another note from him, — the last, alas! I can ever receive, — reminding me of our united efforts in securing the erection of the Charity Bureau in Chardon Street, in which almost all the relief societies of our city are concentrated for mutual reference and associated action. He spoke of it as my own original design, as it was; but no one has done more valuable work within the walls of that noble building than our lamented friend.

To this Provident Association, it now appears, he has bequeathed a third part of his property after deducting his private legacies to relatives and friends. Familiar as he has been with its whole history, and practically acquainted with

all its principles and methods of dealing with the poor, such a bequest from such a source is at once a tribute and a testimony, and cannot fail to inspire fresh confidence in the institution, while it adds largely to its means of usefulness. There ought to be a portrait of Mr. Parker on its walls, if nowhere else, and I trust there will be.

Mr. Parker was associated with me also as one of the Overseers of the Poor of Boston from 1864 to 1867, when the organization and operations of that board were the subject of a complete and most salutary reform. As president of the board I was specially indebted to him for aid and counsel, and I can bear personal testimony to the signal ability and practical wisdom which he displayed during all our proceedings.

Let me only say, in conclusion, that in speaking exclusively, as I have done, of Mr. Parker's devoted labors in the cause of our charitable institutions, I feel that I have paid him the most enviable tribute which could be offered to his memory, and that which he himself would most have valued. Wit and wisdom, abilities and accomplishments, private virtues and public services, may secure a wider popular fame; but a life-long care for the condition of the poor and needy at our doors may look for a record above all earthly renown.

Professor TORREY continued, nearly as follows:—

Certain qualities in Mr. Parker's character had their growth in a home which was lighted up by a noble example of devotion to the duties and sympathies of a sacred office, and was adorned with winning manners and attractive conversation. Mr. Parker himself more than once dated back his opinions to this early period. Great, however, as were these influences, he did not inherit or imbibe his originality. In after years it needed no long familiarity with him to show him to be eminently a man by himself. I have lately received a letter in which a very intelligent man describes at a distance of some years the marked impression made upon him by the fine presence, the charming manner, and the excellent judgment of Mr. Parker, whom he had never before seen and has never met since.

Mr. Parker, at twelve years of age, lost his father. His youth was not spent in comfortable ease. He had to endure

hardness, and probably owed something of his rare knowledge of character and power of dealing with all sorts and conditions of men to this discipline. He took the highest honors at college,—no insignificant achievement and no bad sign even forty years ago. Though he did not afterwards take up the calling of a professed and technical scholar, he knew wonderfully well how to read and what to do with what he had read ; and he kept up his scholarly tastes.

In his early manhood his agreeable address, his kindly bearing, and his intellectual and moral force opened the way to that influence over younger persons which he so strikingly exerted, and which some of our now middle-aged citizens remember and feel. His aptitude for making his way with young and old it was a pleasure to him in later years to try occasionally, even with persons of a humble station whom he casually fell in with, who opened their lives to his friendly questions and gave new food to his insatiable study of character, in fields quite outside of conventional position. He liked to relate in his interesting manner the little occurrences of his annual journeys. In one of them he made in the streets of Verona the acquaintance of an Italian peasant-boy, learned of him his whole way of life, and treated him with characteristic kindness. The men with whom he had to do professionally or socially, he made it a habit to be interested in, but with a tacitly reserved right to take their dimensions.

He was one of the keenest of observers. His inevitable eye was backed by a mental vision that as a rule was singularly quick and sure. Double-dealing and meanness had no chance with his piercing search and implacable scorn. It is related that the Emperor Charles V. once said of a noted diplomatist, that, if you would baffle his sagacity, your silence would not be enough ; you must not *think* in his presence. Stripped of its extravagance, this saying offers something that brings up Mr. Parker significantly to mind. As Mr. Winthrop has reminded us, Ephraim Peabody and Francis E. Parker are foremost names in the charter of incorporation of the Boston Provident Association, the founding of which makes an epoch in the history of the charities of this city. One of Dr. Peabody's closest friends called him "a sworn measurer." The description might be extended in no small degree to his associate in that instrument.

To what he was in his profession others are better qualified than I to testify. A more valuable extra-professional counsellor it would be difficult to find. His friends could rely on him to face for them with loyal nerve emergencies and scenes too trying for themselves, or to help them with generous outlay of time and care through harassing crises and changes.

Mr. Parker was a man of sensitive conscientiousness in every trust, and of a high idea of honor. He was anxious to be true to others and to himself. He loved independence, and guarded his own independence with diligence. His judgments of men were sometimes less carefully reserved than they were positively formed; he was outspoken where others are apt to be cautious. But it has been said of him that his pithy phrases were wont, even when severe, to issue straight from the head without committing the heart.

Mr. Parker's command of expression, so signally shown by word of mouth and word of private pen, was less often exercised in public than might have been expected of one who possessed so many of the gifts of a speaker. Of his speeches I remember only two that have been in print. They are both characteristic. One of them contains in it a droll geological history of the Boston Back Bay lands; the other, delivered more than thirty years ago at a celebration in Portsmouth, in the name of a delegation from Massachusetts, is a model in its kind. With scarcely a touch or breath of his usual happy pleasantry, it is grave, gracious, and affectionate. One of his oldest friends writes: "It was an occasion when all the qualities which he ordinarily took so much pains to repress, rose to the surface, and he did not care to hide them; and the genuine feeling which he showed is all the more interesting from the rarity with which he suffered it to appear."

The Hon. GEORGE S. HALE paid his tribute in these words:

It is now over forty years since I first saw Francis E. Parker. I remember it as one remembers in later years what most "pleased his boyish thought." I had just come to Harvard College from Exeter, and we met at a meeting of the students at Cambridge from that school. What was done, if anything, at the meeting I do not remember; but the cordial reception

of a callow, timid freshman by the brilliant and leading scholar of the senior class naturally left an impression which brings back the evening most clearly to my mind. I refer to this, unimportant in itself, as illustrating a characteristic trait. He had then, as always, an attraction for younger men, as they had for him, and a great facility in impressing and influencing them. Since that time, during the "swift sweet hours" and the "slow sad hours" of later years, I knew him intimately. I shared his struggles, if the uniform, deserved, and steady success of his career can be so denominated; I received his confidences and profited by his counsels, his criticisms, and his example.

It is not easy to describe his character or the course of life in which that manifested itself. There was nothing commonplace or familiar in either, nor was the plan of life which he seemed to lay down for himself easily intelligible to men who calculated upon the ordinary motives of human action. He belonged by nature and inheritance to that class which one of its conspicuous members has called the Brahmin caste of New England. He was fastidious, refined, acute, and governed by a conscience intellectual as well as moral, which made him see as well as approve and pursue the right way.

His father, the Rev. Dr. Nathan Parker, was one of the fathers and saints of the early Unitarians, a devout and persuasive preacher, and a pastor of wide, effective, and permanent influence, who died beloved, respected, admired, and mourned. His mother was a woman of peculiar cleverness, wit, and social power, capable of appreciating her husband and educating her son. The son inherited many of the most striking characteristics of his parents; and the language with which the friends of Dr. Parker describe the traits of his character is often singularly appropriate to the son:—

"His observations were generally laconic, pithy, and easy to be remembered. . . . Half sarcastic and half humorous, stingingly severe yet jocose in expression, he was able to say inoffensively what he pleased; his manner acted instead of a formal apology for plain dealing. . . . His influence over men was therefore that of character. He did not strive for influence; he did not aim at power: it came to him. It belonged to him, as it does to every man of single-mindedness and trustworthiness. . . . There was another trait of his character which gave him influence. His friends remarked in him an uncommon

knowledge of human nature, an intuitive perception of character, a singular and almost prophetic sagacity by which he penetrated men's bosoms and discerned foibles or dispositions of which they were themselves scarcely aware. He evidently made man and human character his study. . . . This talent of observation extended to men's affairs as well as characters. It used to be a matter of wonder to his friends how he should . . . be . . . so sagacious and familiar in secular concerns. It has been said that he knew the state of every man's business. . . . This knowledge of men's affairs — the result not of inquisitiveness, but of intuitive sagacity — was always employed with the utmost caution and reserve, and was the means of greatly extending his influence."

The death of Dr. Parker when his son was not yet twelve years of age, left his widow with narrow means to support and educate her only child.

Dr. Parker had been a Trustee of the Phillips Exeter Academy from the year of his son's birth until his own decease, and the son became soon a pupil of that school and a "Foundationer." He lived to add another to the list of brilliant men who have paid by the honor they reflect upon this Alma Mater the aid she afforded them, which he shared with such men as Bancroft, Sparks, and Packard. He, like others of them, was not content to return her kindness solely by thus honoring her name, and not only took pleasure in his lifetime in repaying the pecuniary value of the assistance he had received, but made himself by his will her greatest benefactor since the Founder.

His career at the school was successful, and in Harvard College eminently so. He graduated at the head of his class. After leaving college he was for a time a valued teacher in the Boston Latin School, but left it for a journey to Europe on account of delicate health. He was not a person of vigorous physical condition in early life, and the watchful care which this required led perhaps to that systematic management of himself which induced an old friend to say of him, "Mr. Parker manages himself like an Institution."

After his return from Europe he studied law, began the practice of his profession with J. Elliot Cabot, and then became a partner of the late R. H. Dana, Jr., with whom he remained until Mr. Dana became the Attorney for the United States in Massachusetts. Mr. Parker had then quite estab-

lished his position at the bar. He had, it seemed to me, every quality required for success in that profession, — acuteness, industry, precision of thought and expression, a retentive and accurate memory, remarkable knowledge of men, and great power of inspiring a just confidence. This confidence brought to him an honorable and lucrative business. He would have succeeded remarkably well as an advocate if he had given himself to that department of the profession. He occasionally indulged himself and others in some exercise of his capacity in this respect, and always left a deep impression of his power of persuasive argument, strengthened by apt illustration, and penetrative and illuminating wit.¹

He was always reluctant to enter what is called public life, although his great success in the single year's service which he gave to the State, in the Senate, made many his friends and admirers, and all of them desirous that he should continue to display his powers in a public and wider field. But one of his most striking peculiarities was a singular absence of public ambition. He was thoroughly conscious of his powers, and enjoyed their exercise; but he seemed to have taken a vow of abstinence, as it were, in spite of the appreciative urgency of his friends. He would have graced the office of President of Harvard College. He would have been a brilliant, effective, and influential member of Congress or Mayor of Boston, and might well have reached, if he would not have enjoyed, these and other honors.

I well remember the half-humorous and yet serious manner in which he once spoke of the expression with which a common friend, who had not spared exertion to reach his own merited success, regarded him: "I knew he was thinking, How much more you might have done and attained with your powers than you have been willing to strive for!"

But he did not omit to labor for the good of others. He was steadily occupied in useful and inconspicuous public service. For four years a member of the School Committee; nine years an Overseer of the Poor, where his "invaluable"

¹ Mr. Hale referred to a speech by Mr. Parker on the filling of the Back Bay in Boston as an interesting illustration of these qualities, and as a valuable historical document, worthy of preservation in the Collections of the Society; and read some extracts from this speech, as reported in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of May 4, 1867. — Eds.

services were characterized, as his associates said, by "sagacity, prudence, a wise forecast, and humane policy;" connected with the Boston Provident Association for thirty-five years, for twenty-six years Chairman of its Executive Committee, or Vice-President; for some sixteen years an Overseer of Harvard College,—it is not easy to overestimate the service he rendered to the community in which he lived in these positions, and in his devotion to the interests of others,—a service perhaps more valuable and effective than that he might have given in more conspicuous and prominent offices. It may be that this was the plan of life at which his friends sometimes wondered,—the plan of one who aims to —

"In himself possess his own desire:
 and to the same
 Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
 And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
 For wealth, or honors, or for worldly state;"

and

"Plays in the many games of life, that one
 Where what he most doth value must be won."

Dr. EVERETT said: —

I desire to place on record, that for years I have been accustomed to look to Mr. Parker as my model or standard of what was morally right. If I was assured of his approval, I looked no farther; if I had occasion to doubt that he would approve my action, it was practically equivalent to a condemnation.

Mr. QUINCY presented a piece of "Shakspeare's Mulberry Tree" to the Cabinet of the Society. This fragment of the wood had been cut from a block which belonged to David Garrick, and was sealed with his seal (a head of Shakspeare) as a witness of its authenticity. According to the statement of Mrs. Garrick, which comes through her executor Mr. Beltz, this block (a massive portion of the trunk with the crotch of a branch) was presented to her husband by the Mayor, Aldermen, and Burgesses of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon at the famous Jubilee of 1769,—it being the largest portion of the tree that could then be obtained. But, however the distinguished actor may have acquired it, there

can be no doubt that he considered it a well-authenticated fragment of the tree under which he had been entertained, and which he had done so much to celebrate.

Mr. Quincy gave a short sketch of Robert Balmanno, a Shakspearean scholar and collector, who possessed the original block with Garrick's seal upon it. Mr. Balmanno's affidavit is attached to the piece given to the Society.

The Hon. R. C. WINTHROP rose and said:—

I present to the Society this afternoon a large framed photograph of Daniel Webster, and ask for it a place in our gallery. It is taken from an original crayon which has been hanging on my own walls for forty years, and of which I desire that the history should not be forgotten.

It happened that during the early years of my association with Mr. Webster in Congress, and after I had been called on to defend him from an unjust charge of some sort, I asked him to sit for a portrait for me. He readily assented to my request, and promised to be at the service of any artist I might employ. Many months, perhaps a year or two, had passed away, when, fortunately, a young artist from Maine brought me a letter of introduction, and expressed an eager wish to have an opportunity of taking a head of Webster. I told him at once that Webster had long ago promised to sit for me, and that I would endeavor to secure him the opportunity which he desired on condition that I should pay for the work, and that the product should be mine.

Just about the same time I learned that Healy, the well-known portrait-painter, had come over from France with a commission from Louis Philippe to take likenesses of General Jackson, Mr. Clay, Mr. Calhoun, General Cass, and Mr. Webster, for the Royal Gallery at Versailles, and that Webster was to sit to him, for the King, the very next day. I forthwith called on Mr. Webster, reminded him of his promise, and proposed that my young crayonist should come with Healy, avail himself of the second best light, and take a head for me while Healy was taking one for the Versailles gallery. "All right," said Webster, "let him come on. The more the better; there will be fewer sittings hereafter."

And so one day in the winter or spring of 1846, just forty years ago, Webster was seen in one of the old committee

rooms of Congress, down in the very crypts of the Capitol, with Healy intently engaged in painting him with oils, while my young friend hovered around him, pencil and tablet in hand, catching the best lights he could find, and working out, day by day, the large crayon of which this is the photograph. I went down into the committee room from my place in the House of Representatives, on several successive days, to see how the work was going along; and on at least one occasion I found Webster quietly dozing. "Well, Mr. Webster," I exclaimed, "art is long and life is short." He roused himself instantly with a hearty laugh, and made some reply better worth remembering than any remark of my own, but which is too indistinct in my memory for me to attempt to recall it. The double operation to which he had subjected himself lasted about a week; and then Webster shook himself free from us all. Healy's portrait is on the walls of the Versailles gallery, and the crayon on my own.

Before my young friend entered on his work, I asked him whether he had ever seen Mr. Webster in action. "Never but once," said he; "but that once I shall never forget. It was when Webster delivered his grand oration on the completion of the Bunker Hill Monument in 1843; and when, standing at the foot of the monument, he rolled up those wondrous eyes of his and took in the whole shaft, from corner-stone to cap-stone, with the simple exclamation, 'The powerful speaker stands motionless before us.' That," said my young friend, "is the look I shall try to give him."

And that is the look he did give him, and give him most impressively. I remember well the emotions excited and expressed by the most intimate friends of Mr. Webster at Washington as they gazed at the crayon when it was finished. The late Edward Curtis, of New York,—devoted to him as no other man ever was,—our own John Davis and Mrs. John Davis, good Joseph Grinnell and his wife, of New Bedford, and Mr. and Mrs. John P. Kennedy, of Baltimore, were among those whom I recall as most enthusiastic in their admiration of the head.

On my return home I yielded to the request of many friends, and allowed it to be lithographed. Of that lithograph some copies must remain; but I have only been able to trace one. The photograph, though somewhat reduced in size, is more

effective than the lithograph ever was, and hardly less impressive than the original crayon.

It only remains for me to say that the young artist of 1846, by whom the head was taken, is now one of the most distinguished painters in our country, — Eastman Johnson, who has long had a studio in New York, and who has far more than “fulfilled the promise of his spring,” great as that promise was. He took several other crayons in Washington at the same time, — among others, a small one of myself, and a large and admirable one of Mrs. President Madison, which came into Mr. Webster’s possession, as the gift of the artist, and which I have seen on the walls of his Marshfield residence.

I may add that my crayon has been photographed at the earnest instigation of my accomplished and valued friend Dr. Francis Wharton, now the counsellor of the Secretary of State on International Law, and that at his request I presented a copy for one of the rooms of the Department of State at Washington, which, by a casual coincidence, arrived and was hung there on Webster’s birthday, the 18th of January last.

The PRESIDENT read a letter of sympathy prepared to be sent to Governor Hutchinson, on his departure for England, by some prominent citizens of Milton. An indignant protest from other citizens compelled the retraction before the letter was sent. The papers will appear in the History of Milton now in preparation.

Mr. DEANE offered a resolution from the Council, that a committee be appointed to inquire into the value and extent of the labors of Mr. B. F. Stevens in publishing from the archives of the States of Europe the diplomatic correspondence and other papers relating to the United States between 1772 and 1784, and to report whether or not it be desirable for this Society to take any action to encourage the work.

Mr. Winsor and Dr. Green were appointed members of this committee.

Dr. MOORE remarked:—

In the Proceedings of the Society on the 28th of January, 1830, as printed in Vol. I. p. 426, it appears to have been —

"Voted, That a Committee be appointed to address the city authorities on the subject of a centennial celebration of the settlement of Boston. The President (Mr. Davis), Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Savage, and Dr. Harris were appointed."

A footnote by the editors of the volume states that "there is no record of any action having been taken by this Committee on the subject referred to them." I have observed that this matter was noticed by the President of the Society (Mr. Winthrop), at the meeting in September, 1879, in anticipation of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary,¹ celebrated in the following year.

As the action of this Society was the first step towards what proved to be so interesting a celebration, it seems to me desirable that everything relating to it should be restored to its records, so far as possible; and I ask leave therefore to suggest that the letter written by that Committee be reproduced in the Proceedings at this time. It will be found in the Report of the doings of the City Council.

It bears date Feb. 4, 1830, is signed by all the members of the Committee, and is a very interesting document, as might be expected. It was printed in more than one of the newspapers of the day, among which I have noted the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of Feb. 11, 1830, from which it may be copied for the Proceedings, if my suggestion is received with favor.

A communication from the Massachusetts Historical Society, enclosing a vote of that Society appointing Messrs. Davis, Winthrop, Savage, and Dr. Harris a Committee to address the city authorities on the subject of a centennial celebration of the first settlement of Boston, together with the following address of that Committee, came down committed to the Mayor and Aldermen Russell and Lewis; and Messrs. Bigelow, Minns, James, Eveleth, and Gragg were joined.

BOSTON, Feb. 4, 1830.

SIR, — The arrival of the year in which two centuries are completed since the foundation of Boston was laid, deserving, in the opinion of the Massachusetts Historical Society, some appropriate observances, they, at the first meeting held this year, appointed the subscribers a Committee to address the city authorities on the subject.

The practice of all communities, especially of those who have the satisfaction of referring their national birth to honored ancestors, may well be

¹ Proceedings, vol. xvii. p. 122.

followed by us, on whom the eyes of all people, in distant quarters of the earth, are turned with admiration at the happy union which we enjoy of civil, political, and religious liberty, beyond any whom history records. However highly we appreciate our institutions of government, framed principally in our own day, we can never forget that their origin is legitimately derived from the unwavering constancy, dauntless courage, sound learning, sober judgment, enlightened equity, and pure principles of the true-hearted, self-exiled Fathers of New England, the exalted characters from whom a vast majority of our fellow-citizens are descended.

With these impressions, and in performance of the duty of our commission, we would respectfully request the city authorities to take into consideration the expediency of adopting such timely measures for a celebration of the second century of Boston as to their wisdom may seem proper.

In regard to the particular day to be selected, some differences of opinion may be expected to occur. There are three dates which seem to have claim to this distinction, — September 7 (in the current style, September 17), July 30 (August 9, N. S.), and June 12 (22, N. S.) On the 7th of September, 1630, at the *second* Court of Assistants held at Charlestown, it was ordered that *Trimountain* be called Boston. Before that time, however, many of those who had then recently arrived from England, and among them several of the leading characters, had decided on a settlement upon this peninsula. This consideration has induced a preference in the minds of some for the 30th of July, when the first covenant was entered into by Governor Winthrop, Deputy-Governor Dudley, Isaac Johnson, Esq., and the Rev. John Wilson, by which the foundation of the first Church of Christ in Boston was established. The still earlier date of June 12 is recommended by the interesting circumstance that it was the day of the arrival of the “*Arbella*, Admiral of the New England fleet,” with the Charter, deservedly so dear to our ancestors, and with Governor Winthrop and several of the Assistants on board.

The selection of the day and the whole subject is cheerfully submitted to the decision of the city authorities, to whom these suggestions may be communicated.

Very respectfully, we are, Sir, your ob’t servants,

JNO. DAVIS.

THOS. L. WINTHROP.

JAS. SAVAGE.

THADDS. MASON HARRIS.

Hon. HARRISON G. OTIS, Mayor of Boston.

General CARRINGTON, being called upon, spoke substantially as follows:—

Mr. Winsor has very properly outlined the grounds upon which exaggerated estimates have been made as to the number of troops which served in the American Army during the War for National Independence. The best approximation to the number of those who rendered actual duty is derived from the

consideration of similar estimates as to the active force employed during our civil war. To this end it is well to notice that the acts of Congress which shaped enlistments, drafts, and bounties from 1861 to 1865 were almost literal reproductions of statutes which governed the creation and employment of the Continental Army from 1776 to 1783. "Minute men," "three months' men," "one hundred days' enlistments," "one year enlistments," and finally "enlistments for three years, or during the war," successively followed, as the scope of operations enlarged, or the duration of the struggle became uncertain. It was with full regard for this analogy that the author of "Battles of the American Revolution," in treating of the "strength of armies employed," quoted the figures 233,771 as the basis of contributions by the various States, treating the figures as years of enlistment for service, and not as representing that number of men. The purpose was to suggest the cause of the exaggeration, and not minutely to analyze the details.

The context speaks of "minute men coming at call, and dissolving as quickly." The phrase "years of enlistment" and the clause, "Hence a man who served from April 19, 1775, until the formal cessation of hostilities, April 19, 1783, *counted as eight*, in the aggregate," italicizing the words *counted as eight*, are not statements of literal fact, but a conditional statement, to show how the exaggeration was inevitable. Very few men served during the eight years, and every fractional service of less time than a year proportionably diminished the value of the aggregate as representative of a standing army.

No better illustration of the author's general purpose, in the very line of Mr. Winsor's paper, can be given than by reference to incidents that came under his personal notice during the civil war. At its very outset, and before the Western troops called for by Mr. Lincoln had been generally mustered into the service of the United States, he was called upon, as Adjutant General of Ohio, to place in Western Virginia, for three months, nine regiments of Ohio militia. The State subsequently gained credit for that service. The same regiments, from numbers thirteen to twenty-one inclusive, taking their numbers from regiments raised during the Mexican War, afterward enlisted in the United States Service for "three

months," then for "three years," and then "veteranized" for the war. And so in 1863 the same officer was assigned to duty at Cleveland, to organize "one hundred day troops," which, under a sudden emergency, were proposed as a supplement to the army in the field. In Indiana its militia, known as the Indiana Legion, was organized and armed for border defence to the number of eighteen thousand; and their service was taken in account on the settlement of the claims of that State against the United States, for service rendered and expense incurred.

The suggestions of Mr. Winsor are even more striking as applied to conditions existing at the time of the Revolution, when the Count de Rochambeau felt constrained to write to the Count de Vergennes in these terms, as to the American people: "Their means of resistance are only momentary, and called forth when they are attacked in their homes. . . . They then assemble for the moment of immediate danger and defend themselves. . . . Washington sometimes commands fifteen thousand, sometimes three thousand men."

It is of interest to note, in this connection, a corresponding error in estimate of the British forces, which can be more readily related to formal and reliable data. Many of the regiments which formed part of the garrison of Boston served during the war; and however recruited, from time to time, they preserved an identity not possible with the regiments of the fluctuating American service. Thus the Twenty-third served at Boston, Brandywine, Camden, and Guilford Court House. The Seventeenth was at Boston, Monmouth, and Springfield. The Fortieth was at Boston, Princeton, Brandywine, and New London. Fourteen of the regiments which formed part of the Boston garrison became important factors in nearly every important engagement.

The single fact that the French contingent, alone, made the American Army competent to lock Clinton within his New York lines and force the surrender of Cornwallis, is a clear index to the comparative feebleness of the Continental Army, as such.

I know of few incidents of the Revolutionary War which more strikingly illustrate the matter under notice than the fact that a letter from Colonel de Hart, dated at Morristown, New Jersey, Dec. 27, 1776, stating that "the three regiments

of Greateon, Bond, and Porter would extend their terms of service two weeks," was sufficient to inspire Washington with faith that he "would drive the enemy from the whole Province of New Jersey;" and yet, that two weeks of service would count as a re-enlistment, and, for the time being, add to the reputed strength of the Continental Army.

"An approximate estimate of the relative contributions of States to the military force that gained our independence," is Mr. Winsor's solution of General Knox's Report and of similar tables, based upon that report, by the States themselves. The author of the "Battles of the Revolution" supposed that he had exhausted inquiry, during thirty years of examination of the general subject-matter, and endeavored to call attention to excessive estimates of the force of the Continental Army in the general statement with which he closed his volume. The substitution of the word "period," or "term," for "years," would have more accurately expressed his recognition of the difficulty in fixing the number of men who actually did service in the Revolutionary War.